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is more expensive, but to the fact that a woman's status (except among the few sophisticated) is determined in no small degree by her skill and industry at the grinding-stone. She takes pride in her grinding. Differences in skill are tasted in the finished *tortilla;* men even claim to identify the grinding of their wives in the *tortilla* they eat. A woman known to be incompetent or negligent at the *metate* is not a desirable wife.[1] One of the diseases recognized in Tepoztlán is *tlancuatlatzihuiztli*, "laziness of the knees." The swelling of the knees which signalizes this affliction is due, not to too much grinding, but to too little; it is thus shown that the sufferer has neglected her work. A woman grinds two or three times a day. On ordinary days the grinding for an average household requires about six hours. But if the men of the household are to go away to work on some distant *hacienda* where, nevertheless, they must feed themselves, the women may be up much of the night grinding the maize for the *itacates* and *clacloyos* which they will take along. And before a *fiesta* the entire night may be spent in grinding for the festal dishes, not only maize for the *tamales*, but also squash seeds and *pitos*.

With grinding, cooking, occasional sewing, a little caring for the children, and finally marketing, the list of practical activities of the woman is about exhausted. Marketing is done every day. Salt, *chiles*, sugar,

[1] Frederick Starr (*Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, p. 35) says that among the Tlaxcalans a bride before marriage passes through a formal ordeal before the women of the neighborhood. This is called *temaitalizili*, "trying the hand." She is required to grind and to make *tortillas*.

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this on following Sundays too. They may bring chocolate and wine and a *chiquihuite* of bread and put this before the *santo* also. Usually the boy and girl know the matter is settled before the formal consent is given.

The wedding ceremony is performed by the priest in the church, if the priest is there and if the families can afford it. Civil marriage is required by law and obviates difficulties of inheritance; but it is not well regarded and is done reluctantly and with no feeling of a sanction received. Not uncommonly neither ceremony is performed.[1] After the wedding there is a feast, with *mole poblano* ["turkey *mole*"]. This takes place at the house of the groom. His parents and godparents stand the expense. The girl's wedding costume is likewise paid for by the boy's parents and godparents. The relatives and friends of both families come to the wedding feast; sometimes dancing goes on for two nights.

The marriage is in part a recognition of the new relationship between two families: between the parents and godparents of the bride and those of the groom. All these people are now *compadres*, a very close and intimate relationship characteristic of the peasant peoples of Catholic South Europe. The importance of the godfather, who to a certain extent displaces the father in control over and responsibility for the child, is described by Gamio;[2] the relationship is about the same in Tepoztlán.

The family organization is in general European. The details of family relationships among the Aztecs are unknown. But a comparison of present kinship terms in Tepoztlán with those used by the Aztecs[3]

[1] The collected information does not warrant a statement as to the extent of informal unions without any ceremonial recognition.

[2] *La población del valle de Juan Teotihuacan*, II, 243.

[3] This is done in a table in Appendix A.

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The *adultos* consist of married adults and heads of families. Marriage is important as initiating the adult status, and it is the most productive one for both men and women. The adults are the most important group both economically and politically and they run the society. If adult males carry most of the responsibilities, they also enjoy many privileges. They may smoke and drink, have affairs with women, beat their wives, and otherwise exercise male prerogatives. These prerogatives are not supposed to apply to unmarried youths, but when young men begin to get drunk and run around with women, it is said that they "are becoming men."

The status of the aged is, theoretically, one of great respect. Old men and women can address anyone in the familiar *tú* and in return are to be addressed by *Vd*. But sometimes the more endearing *abuelito* or *papacito* is used. To contradict an *anciano* and certainly to beat an old man is an outrage; "it is like beating your own father." The status of the aged, however, is by no means an enviable one, particularly when old people can no longer support themselves. Children are supposed to support aged parents but there are cases of extreme neglect and the theme, "I would rather die than depend upon my children" is frequently heard. The old people do not take part in politics and in general do not have positions of leadership. Because of the rapidly changing culture, the *ancianos* are out of step with the times. Many speak Spanish poorly and have difficulty even in communicating with their grandchildren. In some cases the younger generation, particularly those who have been away to school, are embarrassed by the old fashioned dress, speech, and manners of their grandparents.

RACE

Race is not an important factor in status in Tepoztlán, and racial prejudice hardly exists. Although Tepoztecans are quite sensitive to color differences, there are no distinct racial groups as such recognized in the village. The three distinctions most commonly made are *blanco, prieto,* and *indio*. The *blancos* are those with light skin and light eyes, characteristics which are definitely favored. The *prietos* are those with dark skin. The term *indio* has various connotations. Sometimes it is used as the equivalent of *campesino* as opposed to the city man; thus it may be said, "Here in Tepoztlán we are all *indios* and we can get along on very little, whereas the city people are very demanding." At other times the word *indio* is used to designate low socio-cultural status, "el pobre, como es indito, no sabe ni siquiera hablar bien" (because the poor thing is Indian he can't even speak well). In this sense, many refer to the inhabitants of the smaller and poorer barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián as *indios*. *Indio* is also used as a term of criticism in reference to one who has poor self-control and is capable of violence. Thus Tepoztecans will say, "In Amatlán they are very Indian, if one is not careful he may be assassinated."

Basically, the term "Indian" is used to designate social status rather than physical type. A wealthy dark person who dresses in city style may not be considered *blanco*, but neither will he be called *indio*. On the other hand, a rich person who continues

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teachers in the village who are now in their early twenties are still unmarried and are already considered "old maids."

A study of the age difference between spouses in the 133 couples mentioned above showed that the husband was older than the wife in all but three cases. In one of these cases the husband and wife were of the same age, and in the other two the wives were one and six years older than the husbands. Table 14 shows the distribution of the age differences between spouses in which the husbands were older.

TABLE 14. Age Differences Between Husbands and Wives, 1944.

Age Difference (in years)	No. of Cases
1	20
2	13
3	24
4	15
5	11
6	15
7	11
8	3
9	5
10	2
11	1
12	2
13	1
14	1
15	2
16	0
17	1
18	1
19	1
20	4

The qualities looked for in a spouse vary considerably between boys and girls. In selecting a wife, boys generally choose a girl for romantic reasons, beauty, or personality. Girls tend to be more realistic about selecting a husband and will often refuse to marry a boy who is known to drink, chase women, be violent, or be lazy. However, status factors are very important in marriage. It is usual for boys to seek out a girl who is poorer and who has the same or less education, so that "the man can be the boss" and his family need not be ashamed before her. Tepoztecan boys tend to "respect" and avoid having affairs with girls from the more important and prosperous families, for fear of incurring reprisals from the parents of such girls. Girls, on the other hand, seek to improve their economic status with marriage, and it is rare for a girl to marry a man with less education. As a result of these attitudes, the daughters of the families in the upper economic group in the village have difficulty finding husbands. They tend to marry later, and to marry more educated men or men from the outside. Occasionally a wealthy girl in her late twenties will marry a boy poorer than herself rather than remain unmarried.

An analysis of twenty-five marriages that occurred in two of the smaller barrios

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581 within the last ten years revealed that in fifteen cases the wife was poorer than the husband at the time of marriage, in five cases husband and wife had approximately the same economic status, and in five cases the wife was from a wealthier family than the husband. In each of the five marriages in the last group there was some extenuating factor which explained the fact that a rich girl married a poor boy. Two of the girls were known to have had affairs previous to the marriage; one girl was thirty years old and married a boy of seventeen; one girl was from a small nearby village and married "up" socially, if not economically, into Tepoztlán; and one girl married for love over the objections of her parents.

Parents, in giving their blessings to a marriage, are more concerned with practical considerations of the health of the prospective mate and the family's reputation. [584] The boy's mother and godmother will make inquiries about the girl and will oppose her if she is found to have a reputation for being lazy or disobedient at home, having many *novios*, going out alone, or being sickly. If the women in the girl's [853] family frequently suffer from lack of milk at the birth of a child, she will be considered a bad risk. Mothers are also wary of their son's marrying a girl who is the favorite at home. These factors are of prime importance to the boy's mother since she will be closely associated with her future daughter-in-law. If the mother [584] strongly disapproves of the girl, she will do everything she can to break up the relationship. If the son insists on the marriage, his parents will be obligated to carry out his wishes but will do so grudgingly and will make a poor wedding.

The girl's parents seek a son-in-law who owns or who will inherit some property and who knows how to work hard. They are not so demanding about personal qualities as are his parents, since their son-in-law will, for the most part, not live with them, although they generally disapprove of a man who drinks a great deal or who is *muy enamorado*. A boy who is discovered to be their daughter's *novio* will almost always be strongly disapproved of by the girl's parents, because of their anger over being deceived and because it is taken to be evidence of the boy's lack of respect for them.

582 Marriage restrictions in Tepoztlán follow the usual Catholic tradition of western culture. Marriage between all but distant relatives is forbidden. First and second cousins do not marry, and marriage between third and fourth cousins is dis- [605] couraged. However, relationships beyond second cousins are often not carefully kept track of so that in practice there are many marriages between relatives. There are also marriages between individuals of the same surname. An interesting aspect 582 of marriage restrictions is that children of *compadres* cannot marry each other, for 608 they are "spiritual brothers and sisters." Since the *compadre* terminology is also [601] extended to the sibling of the *compadre*, this marriage restriction also includes their children, and many families are therefore ruled out from those eligible for marriage. There was not a single case of marriage between children of *compadres*.

582 The great majority of Tepoztecans marry within their own village. Of 585 [62] married couples in the village in 1944 only 58 were marriages with outsiders. Of [591] those marrying into the village, 35 were women and 23 were men, reflecting the

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593 857 [872] home. However, the majority of girls leave school after the third grade, or at eleven years of age. An occasional mother identifies with the daughter and expresses her own ambitions for schooling by allowing the girl to complete the elementary school course.

[594] [581] When a girl is at home, she is at the complete disposal of her mother. The mother is in a position to exploit the daughter and frequently does, especially the eldest daughter. Many girls marry to escape the hard work at home, and some of our case histories reveal the resentment daughters sometimes hold in retrospect toward their mothers. The following was told by a woman forty years of age.

> My mother was a widow. When I was nine we went to Tacubaya because it was the time of the Revolution. My mother borrowed three pesos and made *atole* and *tacos* and sold them. She did well the first year. Then she made meals for 190 factory workers. I made tortillas when I wasn't going to school. I went to school for four years and each morning I got up at 5:00 A.M. and ground corn, and made coffee for my mother, brothers, and sister. I never ate breakfast before school for lack of time. I also made the tortillas for the family for lunch and supper. My mother hired three women and a boy to help her at her work, and she made a lot of money. After four years she took us back to Tepoztlán because she didn't want us to grow up perverse. Then my three older brothers became teamsters and left the house at 4:00 or 5:00 A.M. every day. I had to get up at 1:00 A.M. to grind and make tortillas and *tacos* for them. After they left, I swept the patio and garden and fed the pigs and chickens. Then I made tortillas for my mother, grandmother, and sister. After breakfast I had to grind corn for the two or three pigs we always had and then again for the evening meal. I cut and sewed the clothes, washed and ironed, and did all the work of the house when I was fourteen. I also milked the cows. My mother was always a merchant. Since I was such a hard worker they began to ask for my hand but my mother and brothers did not want me to marry. I, poor thing, loved my mother and didn't understand how mean she was. She didn't love me because she made me work so hard when she had enough money to hire a maid. I took care of my mother, but when I was twenty I was fed up with it and eloped with my *novio*.

593 584 The mother is usually the daughter's chaperone when attending fiestas or when visiting. It is the mother's obligation to guard all grown daughters from having contact with boys. If she fails in this the mother will be subject to the father's anger. Many mothers complain that the necessity to "spy" on their daughters is a heavy burden. A mother who must leave her fifteen-year-old daughter at home with the little ones while she goes to the plaza is anxious over the possibility that the girl will speak to a boy in her absence. If the mother learns that her daughter has a *novio*, it is common for her to beat the girl without the father's knowledge and to keep the matter a secret. Although most mothers are harsh in their treatment of [848] a daughter who becomes pregnant before marriage, they are less so than the fathers and tend to be more forgiving.

593 864 Respect relations between mother and daughter require an avoidance of intimate subjects. Mothers do not customarily prepare their daughters for menstruation or discuss the body or any aspect of sexual relations. And girls do not inform their

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death, his brother will step in and claim a portion of the inheritance from the widow, especially when her children are still small. 604 428

IN-LAWS

Because of the predominance of patrilocal residence, the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship is the most important of all in-law relations. When the young bride goes to live with her husband's family, she is expected to take the role of a grown daughter, addressing her husband's parents as mother and father and giving them the same respect and obedience she owes her own mother and father. Her work is assigned by the mother-in-law and generally consists of the most burdensome tasks, such as grinding corn, making tortillas, and washing and ironing the clothing of the entire family. In the past, when girls married at twelve or thirteen and were unskilled, it was the duty of the mother-in-law to teach them the work. 596 606 [868]

It is the obligation of the mother-in-law to chaperone her daughter-in-law and to see that she remains a faithful wife. To this end the daughter-in-law is expected to remain within the house most of the time and not to go out alone. There are many jokes told which depict the mother-in-law as the "policeman." When the daughter-in-law gives birth to a child, the mother-in-law has the major responsibility of caring for both of them; the quality of this care often depends upon whether or not the mother-in-law approves of her daughter-in-law. In cases in which the mother-in-law disapproves of the marriage, because the couple eloped or because the girl was pregnant before the marriage, or because she had a bad reputation, the young wives may be grossly neglected during and after childbirth. 606 [484] [522] [844]

Although many mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law manage to get along fairly well, the relationship is obviously a "charged" one and is generally recognized as such by Tepoztecans. Both women tend to approach their new relationship with apprehension. The young wife fears that she may not be able to please her mother-in-law, that too much work will be demanded of her, that she will feel like an outsider in a strange house. Many girls have grown up with the idea, learned from their mothers and other married women, that the daughter-in-law is merely the "slave" of the mother-in-law and suffers much at her hands. The mother-in-law, on the other hand, fears that her new daughter-in-law will be lazy and just another mouth to feed. If the girl comes from a better-to-do family, she may look down upon the way of life in her husband's home and cause uneasiness. It is for this reason that when marriages are arranged, the boy's parents seek a poor girl who will not be demanding or afraid to work. 578 606 [581]

In many cases the fears are justified and much quarreling occurs. The mother-in-law expects the younger woman to work as hard, if not harder, than she herself works. In fact, many women shift almost the entire burden of the household upon the daughter-in-law, so that they may take up business activity outside the home. The daughter-in-law, who may be seventeen or eighteen years of age, has been working hard from the age of thirteen in her own home under the instruction of [596]

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842 [847] Abortion, although very secretive, is not uncommon, and it is said that many women take medicine to make themselves sterile.

In sharp contrast to women, men in Tepoztlán prefer large families and are outspoken in their desire to have many sons to help them. In many husband-wife [593] relations there is an underlying struggle in which the wife tries to limit the number of pregnancies against the protests of her husband. If conception does not take place within a reasonable length of time, husbands may suspect their wives of taking medicine to prevent it. Failure to conceive may be sufficient cause for abandonment, [586] and in the few cases in which women were known to have prayed for a child the motive almost always was to please the husband. Men show little interest in learning methods of birth control, and it is highly improbable that many husbands would practice it or permit their wives to.

The differences in the attitudes of men and women toward having children stem from several factors. Men often marry at a more mature age and when they feel [582] ready for marriage, but girls marry quite young, and often as a result of pressure [581] from their suitors or their parents or because of pregnancy. Men frequently marry for the purpose of raising a family; women, except when they are pregnant, usually marry for motives entirely unrelated to having children. Unlike women, who become [851] more dependent upon their mother-in-law and husband at the birth of a [562] child, men acquire a new independence and a more respected status as *padre de familia*. Becoming a mother does not in itself improve a woman's status, nor is there [843] any perceptible change in the treatment of wives during pregnancy. As one informant put it, "A good husband will continue to be good when his wife is pregnant, and a bad one will continue to beat her."

The strict division of labor in Tepoztecan homes, in which the burden of the [462] care of the children in sickness and in health falls upon the mother, is often given [594] as an explanation of the different attitudes of men and women toward having children. "It makes no difference to the men how many children there are. It is the wife who has to see that there is enough for all."

842 155 864 Motherhood is not glorified in Tepoztlán. The prevailing prudishness toward sex, as well as the reciprocal respect-relations between parents and children, results in the avoidance of the subject. Most Tepoztecan girls grow up in an atmosphere in which negative attitudes of fear and shame toward motherhood, pregnancy, and even marriage have more opportunity of developing than positive ones. Despite the early assumption of the care of small children and household duties, there is an absence of positive psychological preparation in the training of young girls for the acceptance of motherhood. This is reenforced by the martyr-like attitude of their own mothers toward husbands and children.

842 *PREGNANCY*

[195] The most common expression to describe pregnancy is "to become ill with child." [843] Sterility (*yomitztili*) is thought to be due to "cold" in the womb,[2] and massages [171]

[2] Sterility is also explained by "cold" in Chan Kom. *Ibid.*, p. 181.